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ABSTRACT

The five major papers whose full texts are included address themselves to various topics that can influence the lives of women in their career choices and advancement. Federal Legislation: Impact on Women's Careers, Mary Allen Jolley, discusses sex discrimination, legal gains made over the past 10 years, sex role stereotyping, and vocational education. Management Factors Affecting Women's Career Development: The Myth of Shared Roles, Francille M. Firebaugh, presents statistics regarding women's career patterns and home responsibilities. Stereotyping of Career Development Opportunities: High School Students, Louis Vetter, discusses reasons why professional educators, counselors, and researchers should be seriously concerned with continuing sex role work stereotyping at the high school level. Stereotyping of Career Development Opportunities: Professional Women, Mary Bach Kievit, discusses where women are as professionals, reasons for their present conditions, and what the trends are. Second Sex Syndrome: Culturally Ascribed Roles, Carol A. Fought, presents societal reflections of women in terms of intelligence, inferiority, passivity, dependency, physical beauty, emotionality, and destiny, and examines career education. References accompany each paper. A bibliography of items related to women's career development is included, together with a list of relevant center publications. (LH)

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Career Development of Women:

Proceedings of 10th Anniversary Program

THE CENTER FOR VOCATIONAL EDUCATION
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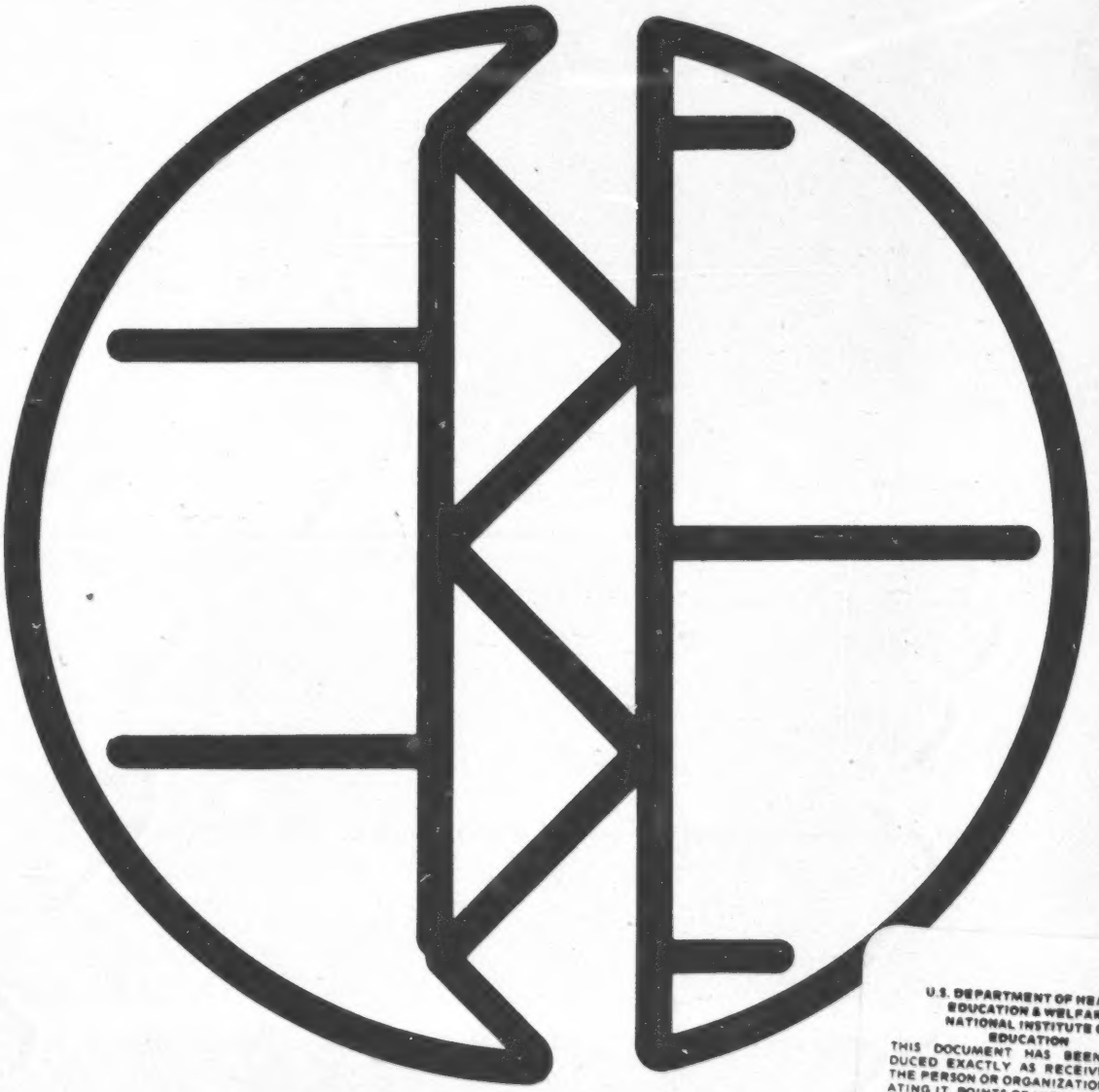

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THE CENTER MISSION STATEMENT

The Center for Vocational Education's mission is to increase the ability of diverse agencies, institutions, and organizations to solve educational problems relating to individual career planning and preparation. The Center fulfills its mission by:

- Generating knowledge through research
- Developing educational programs and products
- Evaluating individual program needs and outcomes
- Installing educational programs and products
- Operating information systems and services
- Conducting leadership development and training programs

CAREER DEVELOPMENT OF WOMEN

Proceedings of the 10th Anniversary Program

Edited by

Anna M. Gorman

Louise Vetter

The Center for Vocational Education
The Ohio State University
Columbus, Ohio

1975

FOREWORD

During the week of March 17, 1975, The Center for Vocational Education, The Ohio State University, celebrated the Tenth Anniversary of its founding. An integral part of the celebration was the "Career Development of Women" program on Tuesday, March 18. In commemorating The Center's Tenth Anniversary, it was most appropriate to focus attention on research and development relative to career development of women since this had been one of the earliest initiatives of The Center. Five presentations were made on topics that influence the lives of women in their career choices and advancement.

The presentations were of such excellence and the requests for copies so numerous, the decision was made to provide this publication. We hope you will find the information included here to be of assistance as you relate in your personal and professional lives to the "Career Development of Women."

We would like to acknowledge the assistance of Lena M. Bailey, Carolyn M. Burkhardt, Francille M. Firebaugh, Carol A. Fought, Kenney E. Gray, and Mary A. Jolley in the planning of the program. Special recognition is due Anna M. Gorman and Louise Vetter who were in charge of the organization of the program and have edited this publication.

Robert E. Taylor, Director
The Center for Vocational Education

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INTRODUCTION

The Center for Vocational Education's commitment to research and development in the area of the career development of women began shortly after The Center was established. In 1966, Dr. Sylvia L. Lee (now head of home economics education, Oregon State University) directed the first project in the area which resulted in a national conference with representatives from the service areas in vocational education where the implications of women's work patterns for vocational and technical education were discussed and suggestions for future research were laid out (see Lee et al., 1967).

The first research project conducted in this area studied the knowledge, attitudes, and plans for the world of work held by high school senior women students. Seniors in Michigan, Ohio, and Kentucky participated (see Lee et al., 1971). The results of the study were used to develop a curriculum unit, "Planning Ahead for the World of Work," which was field tested with secondary school women students in Ohio and Tennessee. When the unit was published in 1971 (Vetter and Sethney), it was one of the very few available in the area of career planning for women. The Center filled more than 3,300 requests for the unit from every one of the fifty states, the territories of Puerto Rico and the Caroline Islands, and four provinces in Canada. The research report was published in 1972 (Vetter and Sethney). The unit is currently being updated so that the occupational and labor market information will continue to be useful to students.

In keeping with current concerns about sex stereotyping in printed materials, The Center's latest report in the area of career development of women deals with an assessment of career materials and the implications for women's career development (Vetter, Stockburger, and Brose, 1974).

A study of the career patterns of a national sample of women is being completed. Additionally, a handbook designed to acquaint parents with the effects sex bias and sex stereotyping have on the career development of their children is being prepared.

The theme of "Career Development of Women" was chosen for one of the 10th Anniversary programs because of its importance in the lives of everyone. The stereotyping of roles for women has and continues to determine what careers are open for women, what is expected of them at work and at home, and how far they can advance in these careers. The topics of the papers selected for the program (and published here) were thought to be those that could have an impact on broadening and expanding the career options of women. The topics should also serve to raise the awareness level of the barriers that do exist for the career development of women.

The publication contains the five major papers presented at the program, the bibliography of selected references which was distributed at the program, and a bibliography of selected Center publications that are related to the career development of women.

Three persons presided at the program: Lena Bailey, chairperson, Home Economics Education, The Ohio State University; Audrey Enarson, an active Columbus community volunteer and wife of OSU's president; and Anna M. Gorman, research specialist at The Center and professor, Home Economics Education.

Papers were prepared and presented by:

Mary Allen Jolley, director of Public Affairs, American Home Economics Association, Washington, D.C.

Francille M. Firebaugh, director, School of Home Economics, Ohio State University

Louise Vetter, research specialist, The Center for Vocational Education

Mary B. Kievit, professor, Department of Vocational Education, Rutgers University

Carol A. Fought, director, Continuing Education Division, Columbus Technical Institute.

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FEDERAL LEGISLATION: IMPACT ON WOMEN'S CAREERS

Mary Allen Jolley

In addressing the topic of federal legislation and its impact on women's careers, I have chosen to look at sex discrimination in relation to its impact on women and their work. Unless we openly face this issue, it seems to me that federal legislation for career education or for vocational education will simply perpetuate the burdens of discrimination that now fall on women, both in education and employment.

Several weeks ago I visited the office of a colleague in Washington where I saw a verse, framed for hanging on her wall, which said:

> And God created woman in her own image. And they shall beat their pots and pans into printing presses, and weave their cloth into protest banners. Nations of women shall lift up their voices with nations of other women; neither shall they accept discrimination any more.

I was moved to comment to my colleague that the issue of sex discrimination is as deep, subtle, pervasive, and as hard to conquer as is man's bent for war. Throughout history mankind has waged war against his fellow men, women and children—indeed, the scripture which that framed verse paraphrased was a prophecy of the birth of Christ predicting an era in which "men shall beat their swords into plowshares." That prophecy is yet to be reality.

So it will be with the issue of sex discrimination. However, the very fact that this meeting is occurring today, during the 10th Anniversary Celebration week of The Center for Vocational Education of Ohio State University, is a significant signpost on the road to progress. Without definitive research on my part, I think I can accurately state that this meeting is, indeed, a milestone in the context of the countless seminars, symposia, workshops, etc., that have been held on the topic of vocational and career education where no particular emphasis or attention has been given to the issue of girls and women. And so, I compliment the planners of this particular aspect of this Anniversary Celebration for addressing the issue of women and careers. I commend the dissemination of this idea to many other education groups for similar programming in their conventions and meetings.

It is interesting to note that major federal legislation directly affecting women, and their education and work, has occurred during the last ten years. The current emphasis on women's rights somewhat parallels the time period which gave birth and growth to this national Center for Research in Vocational Education. This ten year period has been one of unprecedented change on many social and economic fronts, and legislation affecting the rights of women has grown out of the ferment of change. It seems to me that there are two major points of significance that should be stressed at the outset.

The efforts to identify and eliminate discrimination based on sex have followed closely the massive efforts to eliminate discrimination based on color/race. Historically, it appears that every time Blacks have made significant gains in acquiring rights of citizenship, so have women. Originally the Constitution of these United States did not apply to slaves, to men of no property, to indentured servants, or to women. Who among us will ever forget the eloquent Black Congresswoman, Barbara Jordan of Texas, who, at the hearings to impeach the President, said that she "used to wonder what the framers of the Constitution had in mind when they wrote the phrase 'We, The People' . . . because for more than a hundred years, that phrase did not include me."

And so, the efforts to eliminate discrimination based on sex, or the women's movement as it is frequently called, are a part of a larger effort to eliminate second-class citizenship in this country. These changes in the social order have emphasized the worth, dignity, and self-fulfillment of all individuals without regard to race, color, creed, or sex. Some of the more militant of my sisters say that this concept is still more honored in the breach than in practice. But surely even the militant among us do not deny the significant legal gains made by women in the last ten years.

This leads to a second point of emphasis, namely, that the legislative actions at national and state levels have made removal and prevention of discrimination not simply a moral imperative, but also a legal issue. Thus, the rights of women and men have now been placed on the scales of justice. Society must recognize these rights and must not discriminate, and if social and economic institutions continue to do so, justice is to be measured through the courts. This process, too, is slow, and it will take many years to overcome the injustices that exist, but at the very least, the color of the law, and the remedies available through our judicial system are now on the side of eliminating discrimination based on sex.

If you believe, as I do, that our political system responds, however slowly, to the needs and aspirations of citizens, it seems appropriate to consider some of the events that have helped to shape these legal barriers to sex discrimination. Dissent and rebellion are not phenomena related solely to the 20th century. As early as 1792, a famous English writer, Mary Wollstonecraft (Godwin) in her book, *A Vindication of the Rights of Women* (1792), challenged all those who had addressed the issue of female education. She argued that marriage could never be a true companionship if women were not as well educated as men . . . and that "the great art of pleasing" had relegated women to the role of trifler. In the early 1800's the debate began in this country about "woman's place" and her role in society. The movement gathered momentum from an assembly of 300 meeting in Seneca Falls, New York, in 1848. The assembly called for full equality of women under the law, and in social customs.

In 1860 Elizabeth Cady Stanton said to the New York State Legislature that the law "declares husband and wife are one, and learned commentators have decided that that one is the husband." Shortly thereafter, the New York State Legislature passed the Married Woman's Property Act, which guaranteed to a woman the right to keep her earnings, the right to have joint guardianship with her husband of their children, and property rights as a widow equal to those her husband would have had in the event of her prior death.

Susan B. Anthony, a leading suffragette, in 1872 led 50 women to a polling place in Rochester, New York, where she was arrested, charged with voting illegally, and assessed a fine which she refused to pay. Even so, it wasn't until the 1920's that women received the right to vote in this country.

Most of us go through our high school courses in American History without very much enlightenment about this early feminist movement, but I am struck by the similarity of these early events with those of which all of us DO remember from firsthand experience . . . the civil rights movement of the 1960's . . . where Black Americans were jailed throughout the South for daring to assume that they did, indeed, have the right to vote, and a right to equal educational opportunities!

What of the current scene? Many say that the status of women in the contemporary world has not changed significantly during the last century . . . only the number and kind of women's activities have changed . . . the world has really not been opened to her. A look at some statistical evidence seems to confirm this assessment; however, these very factors are themselves a force for political change. Let us take a look at some of these significant factors.

Most writers and analysts in the field point to the changes brought about by the significant increase in the number of working women. This factor not only created an economic impact, but has changed lifestyles, aspirations, the rearing of children, and many other relationships. Some say that the current push for women's rights actually began back in the late 1950's and early 1960's as the number of women in the labor force began to rise very rapidly. We are now approaching the time (depending on whose figures you use) that 50 percent of the total work force will be women.

- Of all women in the population of the usual working age (18-64), half are working.
- The likelihood of being a worker is even greater for women of minority races . . . their participation rate is 58 percent.
- Two out of every three women who work are in sales, service, clerical or domestic work—all low-paying occupations.
- Women suffer higher unemployment rates than men.
- Most women workers (six out of ten) are married and living with their husbands. The rest of the woman labor force is about equally divided between single women and those who are widowed, divorced, or separated. Their average age is 39 years.
- More than two out of three women workers today have at least a high school education; one out of ten is a college graduate. Women workers are equally qualified with men workers in educational attainment.
- Despite educational attainment, fully employed women continue to earn less than fully employed men. The median earnings of women is 59 percent that of men, which is due largely to the high concentration of women in low-paying occupations. (Note: 15 years ago she earned 69 percent of the male salary.)
- One of every ten 17-year-old girls is a mother.
- Nearly one-third of all teenage marriages end in divorce.
- One of five marriages is broken.

- One child in six will lose a parent by divorce by the time he or she is 18 years of age.

- Approximately 10 percent of all school-age children have moderate to severe emotional problems.

- Nearly 26,000,000 children are represented by 12.7 million working mothers; 5.5 million of these children are under six years of age.

- Twelve percent of all families are headed by women . . . 53 percent of these women heads of households are in the labor force; their median income is $5,114.

- Only about eight percent of group day-care centers provide truly developmental day care; only about 21 percent provide limited developmental care; few family day care homes offer developmental opportunities; two-thirds are custodial care only.

Surely these statistics point to new lifestyles, new educational demands, needs for child care grams, and the need for women to attain a larger share of success in the economic realm. All these areas vitally affect women and their careers.

What, then, are the specific federal laws impacting on women and their careers? The fi of this question is fairly simple . . . to enumerate the federal laws affecting the welfare of wo but to assess what their impact will be on women's careers is infinitely more complex. As to part of this issue, I will briefly describe what I see as two major federal laws that will have an on women, and men as well. Then I will try to identify some yet existing barriers to success for women—even though we have strong laws to eliminate discrimination based on sex. Fina would like to look at the role of vocational education in developing and facilitating careers f

THE EQUAL RIGHTS AMENDMENT The Congress of the United States approved th Rights Amendment in March of 1972. Passage of this Act was the culmination of many, ma of work on the part of women's groups in this country. Efforts in the early 20's had come t but if three-fourths (or 38) of the state legislatures ratify the amendment by 1979, it will bec the 27th Amendment to the Constitution. ERA supporters number more than 75 national o tions, including the AFL-CIO, the American Bar Association, the League of Women Voters, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the American Home Economi ciation, the Democratic and Republican parties, and every President of the United States sin Eisenhower.

As of this date, some 34 states have already ratified the ERA. In some 17 states legislat will be meeting this year and there will be opportunities for ratifying or voting on this issue. ever, two states (Nebraska and Tennessee) have acted to rescind earlier approval of the amen Whether this action is legal is a matter of question and is an issue which supporters of the ER will become moot by virtue of ratification of the ERA in more than the required 38 states.

What is the purpose of the ERA? The language very simply says that "equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of sex." Section Two says that "Congress shall have the power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article." Section Three provides that "this amendment shall take effect two years after the day of ratification."

Ratification of the ERA will simply mean that for the first time Americans will have a constitutional guarantee that sex cannot be a factor in determining legal rights of men and women. Each person must be treated as an individual. The language of the amendment does not contain the words "woman" or "women." The phrase, "under the law" does mean that the amendment will affect many existing or future laws. The Amendment would apply only to governmental actions at state and national levels.

What ERA will, and will not do, has developed into a major controversy in many states where ratification is now an issue. There are those who argue the ERA will mean that women will no longer receive protection for themselves and their children; that the church has decreed that women are not as equal as men; that it (the ERA) will force women to work outside the home instead of rearing their families and being homemakers; and finally, that men will no longer be "gentlemen" who will treat women as "ladies."

Most of this discussion sheds more heat than light. Commenting on the Amendment at hearings in 1970, Senator Cook (R-Ky) said . . . "interpersonal relations and customs of chivalry will, of course, remain as they have always been, a matter of individual choice. The passage of this amendment will neither make a man a gentleman nor will it require him to stop being one."

Other irrelevant arguments waged against the amendment have to do with rights of privacy (which will not be abridged); property rights; the so-called protective laws which have already been determined to be discriminatory by restricting employment opportunities by keeping women out of jobs which offered higher pay or advancement; and finally, service in the military (which is not now required of ALL men nor will it be required of ALL women). ERA will mean equalization of social security benefits; changes in laws affecting domestic relations such as child custody, alimony, determination of legal domicile (these changes will affect both men and women). Restrictions on property rights, to enter into contracts to run a business, and inheritance rights, will all be changed so that men and women will be treated equally. ERA will guarantee both men and women equal protection under one uniform legal system, and will eliminate the present dual system of justice.

Another federal act of significance to women and their careers is the Higher Education Act of 1972, which contains a specific prohibition against sex discrimination in all federally assisted education programs. Title 9 (Act of 1972) states that "no person in the United States shall, on the basis of sex, be excluded from participating in, be denied the benefits of, or by subjected to discrimination under any education program or activity receiving federal financial assistance."

Title 9 applies to public or private pre-school, elementary and secondary schools, vocational schools, community colleges, and to professional and higher education. The only institutions exempted are religious organizations and the schools training individuals for the United States military service.

In 1954 the Supreme Court (in Brown vs. Board of Education of Topeka) recognized the damaging effects of discrimination in a democratic society as it appears and is transmitted by educational institutions. That decision said: "in these days, it is doubtful that any child may reasonably be expected to succeed in life if . . . denied the opportunity of an education. Such an opportunity where the state has undertaken to provide it, is a right which must be made available to all on equal terms."

The implementation of that decision over the past 20 years has made it abundantly and painfully clear that federal legislation is needed to make equal educational opportunity a reality. There should be no doubt that efforts to eliminate discrimination on the basis of sex may be as long and as painful as the elimination of racial discrimination in education. Thus Title 9, in the absence of final ratification of the ERA, becomes especially significant.

In addition to the prohibition against sex discrimination in educational institutions, Title 9 also amended other laws, including the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 to include executive, professional and administrative employees under the Equal Pay Act. The sex discrimination provisions of Title 9 are similar to the provisions of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 which prohibit discrimination against the beneficiaries of federal money on the basis of race, color and national origin (but did not include sex).

Both Title 6 (CRA) and Title 9 (Ed. Amendments) are administered by the Office of Civil Rights of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare. Legal sanctions for noncompliance which may be applied against those educational institutions that do not comply with the law, include the delay of awards of funds, revoking of current awards, and barring institutions from eligibility for future awards. In addition, the Department of Justice may also bring suit at HEW's request.

In addition to being applicable to all levels and educational institutions, Title 9 will undoubtedly affect many standards and procedures governing admissions, requirements for graduation, single-sex courses, textbooks and curricula, counseling of students, policies governing physical disabilities, including pregnancy. Virtually all aspects of education at all levels must be looked at in terms of sexual bias.

While these laws (ERA and Title 9) seem to me to have potential for a major impact on women and their careers, there are also other laws that should be mentioned, including amendments to the Civil Rights Act which now prohibit discrimination on the basis of race, color, religion, sex, or national origin in all aspects of employment. This applies to employers of 15 or more employees; it includes state and local governmental agencies; and it includes both public and private educational institutions.

An Executive Order, issued by President Johnson in 1968, covers all institutions and agencies with federal contracts over $10,000. This order prohibits discrimination in employment (including hiring, upgrading, salaries, fringe benefits, training, and other conditions of employment) on the basis of race, color, religion, national origin or sex. Still earlier, Congress in 1963 amended the Fair Labor Standards Act (The Equal Pay Act of 1963) to prohibit discrimination based on sex in the payment of wages for equal work on jobs that require equal skill, effort, and responsibility and that are performed under similar working conditions.

In summary, it seems fair to say that in legislation much progress has been made for women in the late 1960's and early 1970's. Educational and employment barriers to fair and equal treatment are now clearly against the law. These inequities and restrictions have been a very visible, and I think appropriate, concern in the career development of women. However, it must be recognized that there are many other barriers to women's participation in the work world which are more subtle, and consequently exceedingly difficult to change.

Research about women—their behavior, motivation, and aspirations—is actually in its infancy. However, some data are available which offer some highly provocative insights into the career development of women. A recent book, *Emerging Woman—Career Analysis and Outlooks* (by eight different authors) identifies and discusses the potential roadblocks to women's career development as the following:

1. Woman's abilities appear to be different from those of her male counterpart. However, research on sex difference has revealed few innate sexual differences in ability that create serious barriers to women's career development. The only clear sex difference seems to be that women are weaker than men in terms of muscular strength; hormones affect differences in the male's metabolism of nitrogen which, in turn, affects the development of the muscles. Various studies of verbal, numerical, spatial and analytic abilities have demonstrated repeatedly that females are not deficient in these abilities in early years; in fact, in verbal performance females surpass their male counterparts. In summary, the literature suggests that differences between men and women in abilities accrue, for the most part, from differences in socialization. Innately, the only sex related limitation of women is one of physical strength, and in a technological society, this limitation cannot be viewed as highly significant.

2. Attitudinally, women have come to accept the homemaker role as the preferred one or, at best, many women experience conflict in duality of roles (i.e., wife/mother—career). A study of women college graduates in 1965, consisting of responses from more than 3,500 women, found that the majority of women expected their primary source of future satisfaction to be their marriage; however, a sizable number (40 percent of the single ones and 10 percent of the married ones) cited career as their expected source of satisfaction. Nevertheless, even the pioneer career women (as characterized by this study) perceived helping with a husband's career to be more important than having a career themselves.

   A 1972 query to junior high, high school, and college women concerning their attitudes about college, work, and marriage, revealed that 95 percent of the women planned to work after finishing their education. At each level, women voiced concern over managing both a career and family. For example, of the college women, 30 percent felt that managing a home with a career was too much and 68 percent considered the effects of working mothers on children to be bad. So the evidence suggests that at least historically, women have attitudinally agreed that woman's place is in the home. However, as more and more women enter the world of paid employment, they are expressing uncertainty over the compatibility of the dual role.

3. Finally, due to failures on the part of educators and counselors, as well as the popular media, women are not cognizant of the opportunities that are open to them. Studies have shown that many counselors perceive career participation as inappropriate for women and thus do not encourage nor, at times, even realistically discuss potential career options for women.

These three roadblocks to women's careers find constant and strong reinforcement in our society. The authors suggest that a major deterrent to career development of women is sex role stereotyping . . . wherein society defines appropriate behaviors for its members, both male and female, and then instills these via the socialization process. These sex roles are institutionalized and internalized; parents, school, the mass media, and yes, even the helping professions, indoctrinate individuals to assume his (or her) "rightful place" in society. Many studies have shown that people "know" what is "right" (socially acceptable) for a man or a woman.

This socialization process is particularly significant in thinking of career development for women. While the socialization process for males permits greater options in both sex-role definition and sex-appropriate behaviors, the socialization process narrows the options for women.

SEX ROLE STEREOTYPING IS REINFORCED IN . . . EDUCATION . . . by teachers, in textbooks, in separate classes and single-sex subjects and even psychological services reinforce sex role stereotypes. Psychological health, for woman, is defined in terms of her adjustment to the feminine sex role. In one study, 79 clinicians (psychologists, psychiatrists, and social workers) were asked to respond to adjectives for "healthy, mature, and socially competent" male and female adults. The healthy male was perceived in terms of being agressive, independent, competitive, not emotional. The healthy female, on the other hand, was defined in terms of being talkative, gentle, quiet, and needing security. It is a fact that women comprise the largest group of candidates for psychiatric treatment and hospitalization in America, and their symptomatology reflects sexual stereotypes, i.e., they are more often found to be depressed, self-destructive, and self-critical. One researcher has suggested that from the earliest practice of psychotherapy, and continuing to the present time, the prevailing standard for mental health has been masculine.

SEX ROLE STEREOTYPING IS REINFORCED BY . . . FEMININE SELF-DEFEAT. Women themselves express anti-feminist attitudes. A review of textbooks in which sex biases were found was written mostly by women, again reflecting cultural stereotypes. In yet another study, 50 college women were asked to rate professional articles, one-half supposedly written by males and the other half by females, but actually the state distribution was not accurate in terms of the sex of the authors. In this case, women judged the supposedly male-authored articles more favorable than those supposedly written by women.

SEX ROLE STEREOTYPING IS REINFORCED BY . . . THE MASCULINE MANDATE. The single most important factor influencing women's career development seems to be the male. What men, particularly husbands or boyfriends, think about women and their roles affects what women do in terms of career planning and implementation. A recent study revealed that only 16 percent of women reported that they would not be influenced by husbands' or boyfriends' attitudes and in fact, 40 percent said they would turn down a better job if their spouses were only slightly or moderately unhappy about it.

One study shows that men are somewhat inconsistent in the expression of their general values and their own personal preferences regarding women's occupational roles. In concept, they favor the view that a woman should follow her career aspirations, but in practice, men want their wives at home. Forty-eight percent of these men preferred a "modified traditionalist" role pattern for their wives, a sequential pattern where work is subservient to child rearing responsibilities. The literature consistently indicates that men's attitudes do not facilitate women's involvement in careers. Men generally prefer the traditional homemaker role for their wives.

SEX ROLE STEREOTYPING IS REINFORCED BY . . . WOMAN'S WORK. Occupations are sex-typed. Society defines work settings and work functions as appropriate to one or the other sex. A comparative study by the Current Population Survey of samples of women by occupation between 1959 and 1970 indicates no decline in the concentration of women in traditional feminine occupations. In fact, the study actually suggests that the current concentration may be even greater than previously.

SEX ROLE STEREOTYPING IS REINFORCED BY . . . FORMAL/INFORMAL DISCRIMINATION. There are few support services which assist women's work and careers, i.e., child-care centers, household help, and financial aid. Women are generally excluded from the informal channels of communications which are significant to placement and advancement. These informal mechanisms have been shown to be significant in terms of sharing of "trade secrets," gaining recognition for achievements, fostering of career commitment, and putting a person in touch with job opportunities.

SEX ROLE STEREOTYPING IS REINFORCED BY . . . ROLE OVERLOAD. Often women try to reconcile their career aspirations with family role demands by trying to fulfill both roles equally well. As a result they must simultaneously deal with at least four role requirements—occupational, spousal, maternal, and household-managerial. Dr. Kathryn Walker (Cornell University) has reported that American working women spend, on the average, 66 to 75 hours a week at combined work and family responsibilities as compared to 42 to 49 hours a week 50 years ago. Married women who work outside the home still devote, on the average, four to eight hours daily to homemaking tasks as compared to the husband's average daily contribution of approximately two hours. Furthermore, women seem to accept these overloads without complaint. In summary, women's career development is burdened by numerous barriers of basic individual and social factors that generally discourage career participation. These barriers are rooted in attitudinal biases, and consequently, will be difficult to change.

Now for a brief look at the role of vocational education in career development of women, for if women are to achieve economic equality, it is difficult to see how they can do so without expanded opportunities for vocational education. In 1910, the National Education Association printed a study entitled, "Report of the Committee on the Place of Industries in Public Education." Special attention was given to the vocational education of females and this particular section of the report admonished society to "test every plan for the education of women, not merely with questions of immediate expediency or of personal advantage, but always with the thought of the larger contribution to the common good, and the higher function which woman can never surrender."

The report continues by recommending that girls be taught the skills of homemaking, and secondly, that "the courses of instruction should also train for work in distinctly feminine occupations." According to the authors, the time was perhaps not very far away when EVERY girl

would be learning some specific kind of remunerative skilled work, just as boys were expected to do. While it was not expected that women would work outside the home, it was pointed out that the capacity to earn might well raise the living standards in their parents' families and give the impulse to a higher level when the girls marry and start their own home.

If one considers present day enrollments in vocational education, it is not too difficult to conclude that there is little in 20th century educational practices to discount these 19th century assumptions about women and their roles as reflected in the report I have just cited. Historically and traditionally, vocational education has very carefully reflected and perpetuated sex role stereotyping in at least two major areas:

1. Home economics programs, which have primarily enrolled girls, have tended to reinforce the homemaker role for girls and women. In FY 1972, the latest year for which the USOE has figures which report enrollments by sex, there were approximately 3 million girls enrolled in consumer and homemaking programs, and only 248,000 boys.

2. The major vocational education enrollments of girls and women (apart from home economics) have been in the traditional occupational areas that are low-paying and sex typed as "women's work." In 1972, girls accounted for approximately 55 percent of all vocational education enrollments. Girls were 92 percent of the home economics enrollments; 85 percent of the enrollments in health occupations; and 76 percent of the enrollments in office occupations. By contrast, in trade and industrial education, a vocational field with many options, enrollments were 12 percent female; technical education had an enrollment that is 10 percent female.

According to an interpretation of vocational education data collected in Project Baseline, Dr. Marilyn Steele has suggested that schools at all levels are operating separate vocational education programs for women. She concludes that limiting girls to traditional, female-intensive offerings perpetuates and contributes to restricting job opportunities and lower earnings for women graduates. She found that vocational education is not only discriminatory in terms of equal access to programs, but she also noted that there are virtually no women administrators in vocational education. Further, while women comprised 14 percent of the doctorates granted in all disciplines of education (1970-71), only 5.7 percent of doctoral degrees granted in vocational-technical education and industrial arts were granted to women.

The Committee on Education and Labor of the U.S. House of Representatives began hearings on sex discrimination in vocational education in preparation for writing new vocational education legislation. The focus of these hearings, as announced by Congresswoman Shirley Chisholm, is to look at the influx of women into the labor market during the past two decades, and the comparatively low pay women receive because of their unskilled, or semi-skilled status. There was a heavy emphasis in the opening hearing on the fact that women work out of economic need. Since 1959, the number of single-parent families has increased by 60 percent, and most of these families are headed by women. There is a high correlation between these families and their poverty level incomes. The highly related issues of needs for child care and educational programs for pregnant teen-agers were included in the scope of the hearings. Pregnancy is a major reason for girls dropping out of school, 210,000 did so last year.

During the many years that I have worked at the national level to develop programs of federal aid to education, I have been intrigued by the diverse viewpoints about the mission and purpose of education that have been evidenced. Congressional hearings have provided a marvelous opportunity for expression of these varying viewpoints. Depending upon who is making the statement, the purpose and mission of our public school system ranges all the way from the simple teaching of the Three R's to providing for the national defense, and eliminating the evils of society, i.e., racial and sex discrimination.

Certainly I pose as no great authority on what the mission of public education is, or should be. However, I have been making some visits to vocational schools in the past two months which have renewed my deep sense of appreciation for the diversity that exists in American education. Our mission in visiting these schools has been a very specific one. However, in each instance I have been struck by the imagination, the creativity, and the totally different approaches that have been developed to meet what we had identified as a common purpose in education. Having said that, I want to state that I believe vocational competence constitutes a major and important function for our public school system. Further, in recognizing all other factors, such as family and home environment, the socialization of males and females that deeply affect career development, I believe that the schools can, should, and must play an important and major role in changing the attitudes that have perpetuated the low status of women who do, and must work, in paid employment.

Sex discrimination is deep seated and pervasive; the problem is societal in scope. Its elimination calls for a continuous process of change throughout our social order. Because vocational education is uniquely related to the preparation of people for their dual roles—homemakers and wage earners—it can be a cutting edge in helping to re-shape roles and create viable options for various lifestyles for males and females.

What must be done on the part of vocational educators?

1. First, we must be willing to recognize the sex stereotyping and discrimination that now exists in vocational education as a reflection of society, and we must openly admit that it does exist. To defend or deny the existence of sex discrimination in vocational education is to emphasize the reality.

2. Vocational educators should develop affirmative action plans to recruit females into the so-called non-traditional vocational education programs, and to recruit males into home economics. This should be done with an acute awareness of the federal law (Title 9) which, in substance, makes it illegal for us to do less!

3. Every aspect of the vocational education program should be examined in terms of sex bias . . . views and attitudes of teachers, teacher educators, counselors, and administrators; textbooks, recruitment materials; admission standards; community resources; roles of parents and employers; and even the attitudes of students themselves. Women should be represented at policy-making levels in vocational education where they are now conspicuous by their absence. This includes representation on Advisory Councils at state and national levels.

4. Vocational research and development should give greater attention to all aspects of career development and education in relation to females.

In summary, the elimination of discrimination based on sex is a part of the changing social order in which the worth and dignity of all human beings is recognized. Further elimination of discrimination based on sex, in employment and in education, is now more than a moral imperative; it is, under the law, illegal.

While legal barriers to discrimination are now a reality, there are other barriers to the career development of women that are deep rooted and pervasive. They are developed and reinforced in the home, with family, the school and community, and vocational education in particular. Because vocational education is uniquely related to the economic status of women, vocational educators should lead the way in eliminating sex bias from every aspect of the existing vocational education program.

For we can all rest assured that the hand that rocks the cradle will, indeed, rock the boat!

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1. For the historical development of the "women's movement" in America, Smith, Susan Margot, *Essays on Career Education,* published by Northwest Regional Education Laboratory, under contract with the U.S. Office of Education/National Institute of Education, April 1973.

2. For labor market data on working women; *Women in the World of Work,* Final Report of Seminar/Workshops conducted by technical education research centers, under contract with the U.S. Office of Education and the Delaware State Department of Public Instruction, June 1973.

3. For data on families; *Focus II, 1974,* report of Task Force, Home Economics Subcommittee, Extension Committee on Policy, National Association of State Universities and Land Grant Colleges.

4. For detailed analysis of Title 9, Education Amendments of 1972, Sandler, Bernice and Dunkle, Margaret C., Sex Discrimination, No. 18, October 1974, Center for Law and Education, Harvard University, *Sex Discrimination Against Students: Implications of Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972.*

5. For data and discussion on barriers to career development of women; *Emerging Woman: Career Analysis and Outlooks,* edited by Samuel H. Osipow, Charles E. Merrill Publishing Company, Columbus, Ohio, 1975.

6. The quotation from the National Educational Association 1910 Study is taken from *American Education and Vocationalism,* a documentary history 1870-1970, Teachers College Press, Columbia University, 1974.

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MANAGEMENT FACTORS AFFECTING WOMEN'S CAREER DEVELOPMENT: THE MYTH OF SHARED ROLES

Francille M. Firebaugh

Women's career development is strongly influenced by her responsibilities in the home—for child care and general household activities. Shared roles for career and household responsibilities for men and women and changes in employment are proposed as facilitating career development for women.

Employment patterns for women, particularly married women, are well known to you—at least the traditional "M" shaped curve of low employment in early years and one peak at age 20 to 24, a trough at 25 to 34 and another peak at 45 to 54, and a consistent decline thereafter (7:33). Paralleling the curve changes are the obvious changes in the family life cycle—notably the birth of the children and their entrance in school.

Changes occurring in the labor force today suggest a lessened impact by the presence of young children. ". . . in recent years the greatest increase in the participation rates of wives has generally been among mothers of children under three. Mothers of infants and toddlers have been coming into the labor force in increasing numbers, even though their number in the population decreased with steep declines in the birth rate" (8:61). Among mothers 16 to 24 years of age with children under three years of age, the labor force participation rate in March 1970 was 29.6 percent; for mothers the same age and same age children in March 1974, the rate was 34.1 percent (8). Slightly more than half the mothers of school age children only were in the labor force in March 1974, as were more than a third of the mothers whose children were under age six (12:64). Child care is a responsibility for individuals and families and is important to the society.

However, being of child-bearing age is still a factor in whether women will be accepted as workers. A recent analysis reveals that women, particularly white women of child-bearing age, experience higher unemployment rates, not because they flow into unemployment more frequently than do men, but because it takes them longer to find jobs (2:463).

Divorce and widowhood have a strong impact on employment patterns. The labor force participation rates are much higher for divorcees than married women (72.9 percent of population, 4.7 percent of labor force in 1974), (all wives - 41.5) and the rates are lowest among widows influenced by age and retirement income (24.8 percent of population, 4.7 percent of labor force in 1974) (8:61).

Studies of the way people use their time show the following. As women increase the hours of employment, they reduce the amount of time spent on household tasks (13:624). For the most part, the children are older and require less attention when the woman is employed outside the home.

For women not employed outside the home, 8.1 hours per day were spent in household work in 1966—and there is no reason to believe there has been a great shift (there hasn't been since the 1920's). For women employed 1-14 hours per week, time spent in household work was 7.3 hours while homemakers employed full-time spent 4.8 hours (13).

"The husband's total work time varied little whether or not the homemaker was employed, while the wife's total work week was consistently heavier when she was employed" (14:13). The total work time of men exceeded the women's total work time by one hour per week, according to the Walker study (14:3). There appears to be compensating actions—men are employed in market situations work longer on the average, than women. This is made possible by women working in the non-market situation of the home much longer than men.

A woman's career development may currently be strongly influenced by her spouse's career. A study of women, men and the doctorate reports that "half of the women doctorates found their husband's job a major deterrent to considering employment in another community. Only four percent of the men found their wife's employment a major deterrent. Among married women doctorates, then, frequently their professional careers not only had to compete with domestic responsibilities, but at least half were deterred by the geographical restraints represented by their husbands' careers" (3:115-117). Married professional men expressed a negative attitude toward the professional married woman's ability to deal adequately with home and work roles while . . . a high percentage of the women had a positive attitude (10:304).

For the future, women's career patterns may be determined more, according to "economic aspirations, marketable skills, occupational commitments, and the like" rather than marital and family status (11:198). "When labor force participation rates of women stabilize at a high level, new entrants will consist primarily of young women who will have been less exposed to role differentiation at home and in school than those now in the labor force. The increasing acceptance of women in a variety of occupations, the narrowing of sex differences in experience and post-school investment, and a continued shift away from heavy manual jobs all augur well for women's earnings" (4:26). Fuchs wrote this before some of the major economic concerns were evident, but late enough to have considered the likelihood of economic crises.

Work commitment and career orientation are two factors often cited as influencing work of women outside the home. In a recent study by Gannon and Hendrickson, it was found that "working wives with a strong family orientation were just as likely to be committed to the job as those working wives with a relatively smaller degree of family orientation" (5:340).

"The analysis of the work commitment in different stages of the life cycle showed that among middle-class women, there may occur a change of 'traditional dream' attitude through motherhood experiences, so that mothers show higher work commitment after having children. It has been shown, however, that two more factors may increase the work commitment of the white collar woman during the life cycle: a successfully pursued career and a long work experience" (6:516).

A career's relationship to the demands of one's personal life can affect both the career and personal growth. Women, who are in professions with flexibility in amount and timing of work, have an advantage over women in jobs with more rigid schedules. If we emphasize only women's employment flexibility needs, we are assigning them the role of primary responsibility for child care and

other household tasks. A single parent, male or female, must accept that role; in the two-parent family, we seek employment flexibility primarily for the woman and assume that the dominant career to be developed is the man's. We are requiring women to be the home managers.

One solution proposed for combining demands from the household or family with a career is part-time employment. Women have for years held part-time jobs because they seem to better fit some families' needs. The career development penalties for part-time work are probably high.

In the future, shorter work weeks and reduced hours of employment may alter man's involvement in household activities. Any oversupply of workers will add to demands for a shorter work week, which will enable men to more fully share child care and housekeeper roles. Shorter work weeks and greater sharing of household roles by men will reduce the typically longer hours of full-time employed mothers and enable more of them to make career commitments (9:230).

Some role changes are bound to come without economic change. Task specialization, which helps give pattern and form to our lives, will likely continue and may well increase. Sharing of household responsibilities may well be specialized but hopefully by choice and not be sex. My plea for the future is for equal opportunity in men's and women's career development, with a mutuality of respect and a broad sharing of roles.

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STEREOTYPING OF CAREER DEVELOPMENT OPPORTUNITIES: HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS

Louise Vetter

What do high school students say they want to do after high school? In a nationwide student career development, Prediger, Roth, and Noeth (1973) studied a nationally represe sample of 32,000 students in 200 schools. In terms of first occupational preference, they f striking sex differences. Over half of the eleventh grade girls chose occupations which fell i three of the 25 job families used to classify the preference choices. The three job families v clerical and secretarial work; education and social services; and nursing and human care. Se cent of the preferences of eleventh grade boys fell into these three job families. Nearly h boys' choices were in the technologies and trades clusters of job families in contrast to only percent of the girls' choices. Results for the eighth graders were essentially the same as for enth graders. The authors of the study point to the need to broaden the career options and of both males and females to overcome the pervasive influence of work stereotypes related

Why should we be concerned about this situation? After all, if that's what people wan why not let them do it? There are several reasons why we, as professional educators, couns researchers, need to be concerned about this situation.

1. The waste of talent such restricted choices implies. If a young woman feels that only be a secretary, a teacher, or a nurse, her possible talents in science, in math, ing with machinery, will probably not be developed. The decreasing number of t positions seems not to have been noted by high school women students and/or th sons who are influential in their occupational decisions.

   The Department of Labor's (Women's Bureau, 1973) prediction of the move in th States from a production-based to a service-based economy has implications for a high school men students who have indicated their preferences for technologies a What will happen to all those students who would prefer to deal with things when tions available are those that deal with people?

2. The "women's job ghetto." Oppenheimer (1968) documented the sex-labeling of She found that "female jobs" are those which depend on skilled but cheap labor, where most of the training is acquired before employment and those where career nuity is not essential. Female jobs are jobs which exist all over the country, henc ity or the lack of it is not usually a serious handicap. Wood (1974) points out tha only alternative to the situation of the increased crowding of women, including m college graduates, into relatively low-skilled, low-paid occupations, is to encourag enable high school women students to train and enter expanding occupations.

3. Lack of information about the world of work. Prediger, Roth, and Noeth (1973) found that 41 percent of the eighth graders (45 percent of the boys, 37 percent of the girls) believed that few women work outside the home after marriage. Thirty percent of the eleventh graders also agreed with the statement, 36 percent of the men students, 23 percent of the women students. Additionally, Prediger, Roth, and Noeth found that occupational exploratory experiences which the students had participated in directly paralleled the occupational preferences cited earlier. They felt that a reasonable explanatory hypothesis for this situation is that exploratory occupational experiences influence occupational preferences and that sex role stereotypes have a significant influence on both.

   Responses from 126 New Jersey secondary school counselors, 67 male, 59 female, to factual questions on the occupational status of women (Bingham and House, 1973) indicated that a great deal of misinformation is believed by counselors, males much more than females. The authors point out that the ready availability of relevant information about the occupational status of women suggests that the problem is attitudinal, rather than informational.

4. Attitudes toward role options. Entwisle and Greenberger (1970) studied the responses of 270 boys and 305 girls, ninth graders in seven schools of various socioeconomic and ethnic composition in Baltimore, to questions on women's roles. Girls expressed more liberal views than boys on whether women should work, hold the same jobs as men and derive satisfaction from problem solving. However, both groups responded negatively when questioned about women holding "men's" jobs. The greatest disparity existed on the question of whether women should work at all, with girls responding positively and boys negatively. Among the boys, blacks were more liberal than whites, and middle-class whites were more liberal than blue-collar whites. A greater discrepancy was found between middle-class girls and boys than between blue-collar girls and boys, with the middle-class sex difference especially marked among the high IQ group.

   Greenberg (1972) studied the attitudes toward increased social, economic and political participation by women of 1600 fourth, sixth, eighth, and tenth graders from four different social classes and found that social class was not a factor. Females and upper grade students were more likely to give egalitarian responses than males and lower grade students. Greenberg concluded that female students see women more positively and optimistically than do males and they are more favorable to the concept of social change which will grant women greater participation in the social, economic and political spheres.

These findings show the attitudes of some of the high school students. How open are the attitudes of the professional educators and counselors who work with these students and the educational developers and writers who prepare the materials these students use in their high school studies? Think about the people you know who fill these roles. There is undoubtedly a wide range of opinion.

Turning from reasons for concern to the picture in the high schools, what is happening in the high schools in terms of occupational opportunities? A look at the enrollment in vocational education programs is instructive. In 1972, 95 percent of the students enrolled in agriculture programs, 90 percent in technical programs and 88 percent in trade and industry programs were male. Ninety-two percent of the students enrolled in home economics, 85 percent in health occupations and 76 percent in office occupations were female (Office of Education, 1973). Only in the area of distributive education, where

45 percent of the students were female, 55 percent male, was the enrollment even close to being equal. I was not able to locate any more recent figures for enrollment. It will be interesting to see if there have been any changes in the more recent figures.

It has been illegal since 1972 to restrict enrollment on the basis of sex. However, from complaints received locally by the Columbus National Organization for Women (NOW) chapter and from reports in the national media, where students and their parents have been told that males can't take certain courses and females can't take certain courses and "if you don't like it, sue me," it is obvious that one of the factors which permits and encourages stereotyping of career opportunities by sex is the attitudes of administrators, teachers, and counselors. Of course, in some schools, professional educators have been encouraging enrollment in any available course.

Birk (1974) reports that results obtained by several investigators indicate that both male and female counselors generally perceive traditional careers as more appropriate for women clients than nontraditional "masculine" careers, thus perpetuating conventional career patterns. She points out that we do not yet have research which would show counselor reactions to male clients who express nontraditional career goals.

Representations of men and women in school textbooks and career materials are another area of concern. Several studies have documented the "invisibility" of women in social studies textbooks and the lack of inclusion of the works of women authors in the study of literature (see Gersoni-Stavn, 1974). Studies of career materials by Birk, Cooper, and Tanney (1973) and Vetter, Stockburger, and Brose (1974) have provided evidence of the lack of representation of women in the occupational sphere and the limited options which appear to be provided to women students by such materials. Part of the difficulty lies with the English language, where the male pronouns are used to denote the generic group. However, in the analysis done by Vetter, Stockburger, and Brose (1974), where the ratio of men and women in the illustrations was the same as the ratio of men and women in the text, it seems reasonable to assume that the pronouns he and his were used to refer to males, not to people in general. At least two publishing companies, Scott-Foresman and McGraw Hill, have provided guidelines to their authors for avoiding the pitfalls of sex stereotyping through language. This is an encouraging sign, but is is up to all of us to be cognizant of the problem and try to avoid it.

A number of efforts are currently underway to help change this situation. An APGA project is providing workshops in all 50 states in an effort to aid counselors in providing sex fair programs of guidance. Abt Associates is developing a learning kit for sex fairness in career guidance. CVE is developing a handbook for parents on sex bias and stereotyping and the implications for career planning. Caucuses and commissions within several professional organizations, including AERA, APGA, NVGA, and APA, are working on the problem. Interested action groups in many cities across the country are assessing the programs provided by the schools and trying to institute changes.

In 1967, Kaufman, Schaefer, Lewis, Stevens, and House pointed out that many of the expressed attitudes and plans of high school senior women were based on a very restricted view of the possibilities open to them as adult women. Mary Allen Jolley has just told you about the legislation changes regarding employment and education since then. Have we come a long way? I wonder.

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STEREOTYPING OF CAREER DEVELOPMENT OPPORTUNITIES: PROFESSIONAL WOMEN

Mary Bach Kievit

The stereotyping of career development opportunities for professional women is considered from the vantage point of these questions:

Where are women as professionals?
What accounts for the present conditions?
What are the trends?

Where are we in 1975 with reference to women in professions and managerial and administrative positions? Of the 45 percent of all women employed, 15 percent are employed as professional and technical workers and five percent as managers and administrators (Women's Bureau, 1974, p. 5). Of all men working, 14 percent are employed as professional and technical workers and 14 percent as managers and administrators. Thus, women exceed, proportionately, men in professional and technical occupations by one percent. For every three men who are managers or administrators, there is one women manager.

A more detailed analysis of the distribution of men and women within these broad categories shows that most women in the professional technical category are employed as nurses and teachers (Wattenberg, 1974, p. 31). In management and administration, women are most frequently at the lower and middle level positions. In other professional occupations women are 20 percent of all accountants; four percent of all architects and physicists; seven percent of the chemists and physicians; two percent of the dentists; 90 percent of the dietitians; 10 percent of the economists; and too small to count in civil, electrical, and industrial engineering. Women constitute 10 percent of the life scientists, and the mathematicians. About one-fourth of personnel workers, psychologists, public relations workers are women (Women's Bureau, 1973, p. 3). One could go on but the picture does not change markedly.

Women with doctorates tend less frequently than men to be employed in private corporations, at universities, in administration and management positions, in the higher academic ranks, and as presidents, deans, and department heads. More women in comparable years of experience are instructors, lecturers, and assistant professors or hold research appointments without faculty status. In all fields, disparity of income is fairly large for those with the least experience and becomes even larger for those with more experience (*Science*, 1975).

When women do enter occupations more consistently viewed as full professions, there are specialities within those professions which draw a disproportionate number. For example, in medicine, the majority of women specialize in pediatrics, psychiatry, general practice, and internal

medicine in that order (Renshaw and Pennell, 1971). In law, more women than men are involved in trusts and estates, domestic relations and tax work (White, 1967).

In sum, women tend to be in the lower paid, less prestigious "semi-professions" such as nursing and teaching and in the lower and middle management positions.

What are some of the factors accounting for the present conditions? The answer to this question is closely linked to the nature of professional work and the preparation required to become a competent professional when analyzed in relation to the traditional view of the social role of women. Specifically, to become a competent professional, manager or administrator requires time. In the case of the professional this time is spent in many years of formal education, when earnings are deferred and outgoing costs may be quite high. Following the years of education, actual work in the profession provides the experiences essential to developing professional judgment. For managers and administrators those years may be spent in a different ratio of education to work but the net result is the development of insights and judgment essential to assuming top level responsibilities.

Professionals and, I believe, to some degree top-level managers view the work as an end in itself. Curing the ill, advancing science, administering justice are values in themselves. A professional's satisfactions are primarily from the psychic returns and secondarily from the monetary returns. To the professional, of maximum concern is having affinity for the work; of minimal import is self-seeking motives.

The professional's devotion to the work itself imparts the service orientation and the element of disinterestedness. A professional's absorption in his/her work is complete, characterized by total personal involvement. A professional has no sharp demarcation between work and leisure hours, for work invades the afterwork life and the work becomes his/her life (Greenwood, 1966, p. 10).

This description is of an ideal, obviously, and its fulfillment will vary among professionals. To be a professional or a top-level manager does, however, narrow the range considerably in which departure from the ideal can occur and a measure of professional success be achieved.

The traditional conception of the appropriate, if not necessary, role for most, if not all women, also has implications for use of life time. A poetical rendering of this conception states:

> . . . and though
> She may have worn silk clothes or worn a crown,
> She'll not be proud, knowing within her heart
> That our sufficient portion of the world
> Is that we give, although it be brief giving
> Happiness to children and to men.
> *Two Kings*, W. B. Yeats (1956)

And so, in the words of the poet William B. Yeats, uttered through the lips of Queen Edain we have a view of woman's life purpose, a view internalized by many women and men.

Human behavior is greatly influenced by many unexamined beliefs. Such beliefs can be so integral to our beings and so pervasive that their very existence is barely suspected until these are

violated by action. This ancient view of woman's proper role is one such belief. It surfaces in the accepted assumption that family takes primacy over a woman's work obligations, while this is not necessarily true for a man. The allocation to the wife-mother, of the responsibility for the "emotional climate" of the family is another illustration. Within such a reciprocal role arrangement, men are to be the providers of economic needs. If you consider the "idealized" version of the proper and "sufficient portion of the world" for women in terms of the attributes that characterize a professional—you have, I submit, children and men becoming the focus of a singular, professional-like role for women, which by its all encompassing character precludes any other time consuming work role. For in this ancient conception, is not, for a woman, the family to be "an end in itself?" Are not the satisfactions to be psychical primarily and financial secondarily—if at all? Are not the motivations to be "affinity for the work" in this case predicated upon love and integrating emotions? And is not a service orientation paramount, although characterized by interest rather than disinterest? Indeed, in the extreme version is not the absorption in the family to be complete, . . . "the family becomes her life?"

The reality for professionals, and women, as wives and mothers, is somewhere between these extremes. Furthermore, the analysis breaks down when one considers the essential elements of a profession as differentiated from the attributes of professional behavior. Those essential elements include a basis in systematic theory—in medicine, you have anatomy, biochemistry, medical technology; in the family, women and men have the folk wisdom, traditions, and the fictions of our particular adolescence. On other elements essential for a profession, the wife-mother role as traditionally or liberally conceived fails to meet the criteria for a profession.

There is significance however in the close resemblance of use of time—a finite inelastic resource—as required for a professional and as required for a woman who accepts the socially prescribed paramount importance of her responsibilities to children and men. To seek to be both a professional and the fulfillment or near fulfillment of the stereotyped conception of woman is to seek to live two full lives within the time and energy constraints of one life-time.

The middle course, through the horns of the dilemma, is manifest, in part, as the stereotyping of professional opportunities for women. Stereotypes serve to restrict and inhibit freedom of choice based on aptitudes, interests, talents, and abilities in various ways. Two such ways are: identifying selected and limited areas in which women meet minimal resistance to entrance; and incorporating negative valuations of women, <u>as women and as professionals,</u> who achieve professional status outside of these limited areas.

The areas in which women predominate, i.e., nursing, teaching, and library science, are nurturing, supportive, and usually in roles subordinate to men. Although seven percent of all doctors are women, 20 percent of the pediatricians are women. Although 9 out of 10 elementary school teachers are women, only 2 out of 10 school principals are women (Renshaw and Pennell, 1971); (*Time*, 1970). Blitz (1974) reports that women were encouraged to enter library science because it was thought by some leading male authorities in the field that a variety of peculiarly feminine traits made women well suited for the work. It is presumed that women have affinity for the work as an outgrowth of stereotyped conceptions about the attributes of <u>woman</u> and the socialization experiences of a <u>girl.</u> Recent reviews of aptitude testing point to fairly wide distribution of aptitudes and abilities among both boys and girls. This is another indication of the function stereotypes serve in artificially limiting opportunities.

These stereotypes are expressed in admission practices in professional schools, in the rigidity of maintaining practices, originally designed for men, which may have a questionable relationship to the quality of the professional training, such as mandating full-time versus part-time study. Opportunities for employment of women graduates are narrower and often in positions less favorable for continued professional growth and subsequent achievement.

One view is that women will marry and cease to be productive as professionals hence the loss of scarce resources in educating a woman instead of a man. Although drop-out rates are variable for different professional areas, Astin (1974) has found that 80-90 percent of those earning the doctorate were employed 10 years later.

Women who seek to become professionals and who are high achievers are characterized as having high endurance and intraception. They are more independent and responsible and more insightful on all measures reflecting psychological health (Astin, 1974, p. 4). They need it! For the use of negative stereotyping of women as women who strive and who do achieve professional status outside the accepted boundaries is at times painful, at best, humorous, but always a stimulus to self-examination. Some of the notions are, in the vernacular: "Too ineffectual as a woman to get a Good man"; "Brilliant, perhaps, but undoubtedly impractical and inept in the kitchen, not to mention the bedroom"; "Great brain, but how unattractive!" or "Great looks!, probably made her way up from bed to bed." "Brilliant scholar, as well as a real woman—very rare, unusual woman, you know."

And so it goes, for if she is successful in her profession, married with children, observers will undoubtedly find her success responsible for "maladjusted children" or a less than ecstatic marriage. These negative valuations are a part of the press, so well described by John Gardner (1963-64), as a press for equality. For to achieve a measure of excellence can threaten the self-esteem of others less highly motivated, with different values, with lesser abilities. Although men experience this press also, it is I believe, less intense, less pervasive, and from fewer sources. There are few corollaries for men to the above disparagements, and the ones that exist carry lesser impact on the intrinsic self-worth of the person as a sexual identity. Similarly the presence of physical, emotional, or social limitations and inadequacies in persons of modest achievement seem to warrant minimal attention and may indeed become the basis for compassionate concern as well as they should be.

In addition to the negative reinforcements there are the encouragements to follow more typical paths. The scene is a department chairman's office, and a friendly professional discussion regarding the next semester teaching assignment of an attractive woman teaching assistant. During the meeting, there was a brief digression to exchange some comments about farming, with the young woman recalling childhood experiences of picking up corn, and harvesting wheat. "You'd make some farmer a good wife," encouraged the chairman. In one of those fleeting seconds, the love of ideas and books, classrooms, libraries, and discussions of intriguing ideas with friends stood in sharp contrast with firsthand observations of the activity of a typical farmer's wife. "No, thanks" came the reply.

In subtle and not so subtle ways, professional women are told that they are "extra-vagrant," in Thoreau's words, having wandered far from the narrow limits to which women should confine themselves (Thoreau, 1854). This is not to negate the presence of those precious women and men who look at individuals, respond to individuals, and encourage and nurture talent and ability irrespective of the anatomical habitat.

The minimal numbers of women who overcome the constraints result in fewer models within a narrower range of variation for younger women to emulate. And thus, components of the stereotypes are preserved. Stereotypes do contain a "kernel" of truth and consequently are particularly difficult to crack and destroy. Higher proportions of women doctorates, 30-40 percent, never married compared to 5-8 percent of the men (*Science*, op. cit.). Bernard (1964) noted the higher incidence of marital instability among academic women as compared to men. Among doctorates, men publish more than women, regardless of field or employment setting (*Science*, op. cit.).

Thus, stereotypic thinking is reinforced and in some instances difficult to refute in the more precise details. What tends to be lost sight of is the circular quality of belief, selection, action, and outcomes which contribute to the coincidence that does exist between stereotype and fact. Specifically in a culture which places value on a male dominated family, the corollary tends to be that women seek husbands of superior ability to their own, and men seek women who are not their equal. Formal dominance is greatly strengthened by intrinsic differences in expertise, knowledge, and experience. Women of high achievement greatly reduce the pool of potential husbands. Add to this, those variables of timing, idiosyncratic preferences in a romance-oriented society, and you come up with a number of unmarried women. Add to this, the social status of the unmarried, now slowly changing; the exclusion of professional women from informal associations with male colleagues, which is still fairly widespread; the domestic responsibilities of the married; the narrower range of employment opportunities; and you have evidence on <u>one</u> criterion (publications) of less productivity. The question might well be, under these conditions, "how do we happen to have so many competent professionals?"

Confronted with the contradictory internal and external "pushes and pulls," one response is to strive to be superwoman—a response supported by the selection and publicizing of specific women in "women's magazines." The fact of the matter is that financial resources, the attitudes and cooperativeness of family members may place some sharp constraints on achieving the "superwoman" goal. A study by Poloma (1971) of dual profession families found that these professional women still assumed the major responsibilities for the home and family. Dodge (1966) in his study of Soviet women professionals notes that one curb to their productivity as professionals is the added burden of domestic responsibilities which men do not assume. It is the exception, I speculate, for a wife to be told by her husband that he will not respect her if she does not become the writer she aspires to be and to be provided with household assistance to release her time to write.

There are some trends in the mid-70's that suggest more women may enter the more prestigious higher paying professions, managerial and administrative positions. These include:

1. The enforcement of federal legislation, although the litigations regarding affirmative action conflicts with seniority principles are cause for some apprehension;

2. The small but none-the-less increases in women in professional training from 1960-1972—from 5 to 6 percent in architecture; 1 to 3 percent in engineering; 4 to 10 percent in law; 6 to 13 percent in medicine; 3 to 5 percent in optometry; 12 to 25 percent in pharmacy; and 4 to 14 percent in veterinary medicine (Parrish, 1974);

3. In 1972, 42 percent of young women entered college as did 46 percent of young men (Wattenberg, 1974, p. 78). In 1972, 48 percent of a sample of women were in favor of strengthening the status of women in society, as were 49 percent of the men respondents. It remains however that 36 percent of both women and men were opposed (Wattenberg, 1974, p. 214). Evidence suggests that younger and more educated women and men tend to be more pro-feminist. Longitudinal data are not available to ascertain whether shifts occur in these attitudes with increasing age, a necessary concern in seeking to predict the future (Bernard, 1974);

4. The reduction in the birth rate with some likelihood of a declining population rate suggests that more women will be seeking alternative routes to the intrinsic satisfactions and social service which the professions can afford.

In sum, while there are social forces favoring increased numbers of women as professionals, there are also strong countervailing forces deeply rooted in the social structure, and manifest in both men and women. Efforts to facilitate career development for women as professionals must include realism about the demands of a profession, particularly on use of time and the interest required. Both requirements impinge heavily on the non-work segment of life. Women need to be more cognizant of the types of rewards and satisfactions to be gained at the cost of the diminution of some other types of satisfactions.

Comparatively speaking, few men as well as few women become professionals.

> Two roads diverged in a wood, and I -
> I took the one less traveled by,
> and that made all the difference.
> (Frost, 1969)

Particularly so, for a woman.

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SECOND SEX SYNDROME: CULTURALLY ASCRIBED ROLES

Carol A. Fought

The Tenth Anniversary that The Center for Vocational Education is celebrating is part of a decade just ended that saw the progress of science and technology put men on the moon and left us with a variety of social and historical phenomena, including student dissent, problems of pollution, population explosion, energy crises, and world hunger. But not the least of the social phenomena that we have experienced in the last decade is the rise of the Women's Rights movement, with accompanying reactions in the press and private lives to anything that might present major changes to the status quo of life styles and roles (7). In fact, this decade, precisely 1965, witnessed the founding of the National Organization for Women, which first focused awareness on stereotypes, or culturally ascribed roles, as affecting discrimination in employment, housing, and education.

So, congratulations to The Center for Vocational Education, which originated during this same time period, for also including in its celebration a special forum on "Career Development of Women" and for addressing this program to concerns, research, and recommendations to facilitate the advancement of careers for women by examining culturally ascribed roles.

The mirroring of women's roles in society is often distorted by many waves—perceptions of our own sphere of interaction and experiences. Women are victims of broad cultural discrimination that shapes their self-image and segregates their personhood (1), otherwise defined as sex-role stereotyping. The term stereotype first appeared in 1798, when a French printer, Didot, used and perhaps invented the process designed to duplicate pages of type and relief printing-blocks. He called it stereotype, the essential features of these blocks being permanence and unchangeableness. These qualities were soon associated and characterized as monotonous regularity and formation in whatever context they would appear (6).

The modern individual commonly resorts to stereotyping in order to bridge the gap between inability to make accurate predictions of behavior of others and the necessity for doing so. Once we have cast a person, we unfortunately tend to keep him or her in that role, whether or not that role is correct. Society perpetuates certain stereotypes to maintain itself and to direct its citizens' activities. These stereotypes are not necessarily the most conducive to individuals or their societal potential (14). As Howe states:

> Sexual stereotypes are assumed differences, social conventions, or norms, learned behavior, attitudes, and expectations. Most stereotypes are well known to all of us, for they are simple—not to say simple-minded. . . . (10)

Stereotypes or socially ascribed roles influence women in our society so that women's true potential cannot be realized until it is freed from these myths and misconceptions that relegate them to the inferior or second class status that is assigned to the female sex. Unfortunately, sex

stereotyping begins early, and as proven in the study by Maccoby, is set as early as the age of three and defined by the age of six (11). Through parental expectations, unfortunately reinforced by the schools, these stereotypes or socially ascribed roles become permanent attitudes that are strongly resistant to change. In one study conducted by Sadker in 1974, junior high school teachers were asked to select adjectives that best described boys and girls who were good students. Adjectives describing good female students included: appreciative, calm, conscientious, considerate, cooperative, mannerly, poised, sensitive, dependable, efficient, mature, obliging, and thorough. Adjectives describing good male students included: active, adventurous, aggressive, assertive, curious, energetic, enterprising, frank, independent, and inventive (16).

In general, society reflects women as:

1. Brainless, witless, and stupid dumbbells. Parents are clear in their expectations of higher achievement for boys than for girls. The ironic part of this myth or stereotype is that learning to be stupid is hard, particularly when all humans are born with curiosity and desire to learn (12). Girls generally learn to read earlier than boys, and up to grade six excel in academic areas. However, a curious thing then occurs. As girls get older they become less intelligent. In elementary school, girls get better marks than boys in all subjects, including math and science. Then suddenly, in junior high school, girls do not do as well, especially in math and the sciences. Sex differences grow more apparent with more education. Obviously, this is all ridiculous. Talents and abilities have nothing to do with sex. People of either sex can be capable in almost any area of work and study; but, anyone's ability can be murdered by neglect or downright disapproval (3). For some women it takes longer than others to learn to be stupid. For those of us who pursued a graduate education, we must be defined as definitely "slow-learners" by this myth, if not totally unfeminine.

2. Secondly, society ascribes to women an inferior role. For women in our society, it is not enough to know less than men, they must be less. The fact is that women have greater verbal, perceptual, and analytical skills than men (which means that if girls were brought up the same as boys, girls would be in a better position to cope with the world than boys are (15). Nevertheless, women are still not fit to make decisions or to be leaders—they are to serve, not lead.

3. A third culturally ascribed role is that of passivity. Women with their perceptual skills do not take long to conform to what is expected of them—to learn how to please, and by so doing reinforce the need to secure praise for pleasing, to not anger or create consternation by presenting views, however correct, contrary to those of the "authority," especially if this authority happens to be a male instructor, supervisor, or husband. From the beginning of their lives, boys are brought up to go out and do something and reap the rewards, while girls are taught to stand and watch. Those who would venture outside the realm of the prescribed passive roles are often characterized as emasculating bitches, trying to outdo all the men in the class and/or organization.

One example of the double bind that women often face when they achieve on the job happened to me several years ago. I accepted a position with the challenge of increasing a continuing education program, or so the administration said was my mission. Just before the opening of the quarter, the secretary disappeared, and with no additional staff that had been promised forthcoming by the college, I was working 60 to 70 hours a week to open the quarter, including registering, coordinating, and programming for 859 students. I was hardly keeping my head above water when the vice president thought he'd cheer me up by stating, "You're making the only mistake that I predicted you'd make as a woman administrator. You're trying to outdo every man in this institution."

4. Passivity, of course, leads into the fourth culturally ascribed role for women—tha pendence. A really feminine woman is not just passive, she goes one step further—she lea As women grow older, they are taught little by little to be afraid of success—not to comp Matina Horner's studies on the ambivalent feelings of women toward success are well kno of us (9). As children, women are taught not to be aggressive. Heavens, deplore the fact should be successful—why? Of course, boys won't like you.

The real difficulty is that it is the need for success that sharpens and encourages inte it is the need to achieve that makes people; yes, people—men and women—work hard and Society takes away the normal need to compete, the normal aggressiveness of a human be replaces this for the woman by conditioning her to the fact that it is unfeminine to achie succeed. So, what happens? Boys are taught to be more and more afraid of failing, while grow more and more afraid of success (9). And without personal success, there is no self- Run for class president? Of course not!! Women are to serve men, not lead them. Avoid cess like the plague.

There is a German proverb that says: "A woman has the form of an angel . . . and th of an ass (3)." It was thought that an intellectual woman was unfeminine. Her brains ne be her glands. As Nietzsche said, "When a woman inclines to learning there is usually son wrong with her sex apparatus (3)." And Lady Mary Wortley Montagu advised her daught hide her learning "like a physical defect (3)."

Even though a girl excels in sports, she is treated differently and slotted into differe Why not become a cheerleader and root for the boys on the team? All right; but, if you competing, you'll stand a better chance on the girls' track team, or soft-ball team, if the s lucky enough to have one. If not, you can go out for the boys' team; but, don't blame us don't get to compete in one track meet all year, since boys, of course, have better physic butes and we want our school to win. No one ever mentions compensatory training in sp education to raise women to the level of men who have had the advantages of cultural co to prepare them for such competition.

Not only on the playing field is discrimination obvious, but come award assembly, t reinforcement continues. My fourteen year old daughter and I were discussing this topic to Hueston Woods on Sunday. The thing that really makes me angry," Bonnie said, "is th Lisa and Beth (members of the golf team) were presented their awards at our assembly, th said he didn't know whether to shake their hand or kiss them." "Now why," she exhort he need to say this when he didn't feel that he had to make the distinction between the b "An award is an award!" she continued. "How it is presented should be a matter of proc men or women in our school."

Girls continue to depend upon others rather than themselves for feelings of a sense Mothers see themselves as Johnny and Susie's mother—Robert's wife. Jessie Bernard des role as the "Stroking/Supportative Function," one of self-sacrifice and submission (2). N it is better, of course, if women bungle their work and can't form an opinion of their ow lose everyone's respect, including their own self esteem; but, they'll find everyone thinks as adorable as a pet poodle. Which brings us to another very important culturally ascribe women.

5. Being adorable. A truly feminine woman must be beautiful at all times. A little girl must be adorable, clean, shining, clever, and sparkling. She must be the kind to which any parent would like to lay claim (7). As A. P. Herbert rhymed: "Not huffy, or stuffy, nor tiny or tall, but fluffy, just fluffy, with no brains at all (7)." Advertisers constantly portray women as consumers, glamorous, seducers, as concerned only about themselves (their body and appearance) and things. Until recently, and with the exception of a relatively small group of people, women have been manipulated by forces outside themselves in our system. Their psyches have been researched to find out how they will respond to advertising techniques, and to what Vance Packard called the "Hidden Persuaders." Except for some small groups of individuals, little has been done to fight back at culture, to decide what we will be, lest the demands of the ads, TV or the women's magazines decide for us.

I'll never forget my younger daughter's first awareness of the fictitious portrayal of women's role through advertisements. Three years ago, there was a lovely commercial that demonstrated a new floor wax, one that made your floors so clear that you could see through them, in fact, entirely through to the basement. There happened to be a weekend special and I bought the wax, more due to the economics of the situation than the claimed glories. After the first application, Debbie stood looking perceptively at the floor. After the second application she remarked, "But Mom, I can't see the basement," in all true disbelief that only could accompany the discovery that there really isn't a Santa Claus. Such disillusionment--such discovery!

Obedient, clean, and ladylike are all further feminine expectations set by our society that summarize the adorable role.

6. Emotionality. Women are, of course, not more emotionally unstable by nature than men; somehow, we are just crazier than they are. This is somewhat undocumented by research or other evidence. Any group of people that has suffered oppression, prejudice, discrimination, that has been made to feel inferior, that is not allowed to succeed, that is not allowed the satisfaction of full participation in world affairs, that is hardly permitted to win an argument--is going to suffer psychologically for it (3).

Unfair treatment makes the soul rebel, and if there is no way it can strike back, its anger will be suppressed inwardly. That's what sadness and depression usually are, simply anger turned inward. Women are born no more neurotic than men; they are just treated worse. No wonder that society ascribes roles that require low tolerence to frustration, anxiety and criticism to women.

7. "Anatomy is destiny." Girls learn to rely almost solely on expressive competence and are incompetent in instrumental skills or those skills considered essential for achievement in our society (13). Instrumental skills, which are valued and nurtured in the male and which should have survival value for either sex, are assertiveness, rationality, and independence. Unfortunately, women have been relegated to the expressive (verbal-talkative) role through culture and tradition (13). No wonder that when the children leave for school, the husband leaves for the office, and the woman is left to one-way communication such as soap operas, or neighborhood chats on what is the best detergent to brighten clothes, or children's common problems exchanged with a neighbor, she wants to chat the minute the children or husband return home. With little chance for interaction in matters of decision-making, policy implementation, or problem-solving, contributing to the world at large other than through volunteer work, unpaid and often unappreciated, women resort to this role.

So the end result, women are trained and programmed for the final and utopian role of wifehood and motherhood, child rearing, homemaking, and reproduction. As Bernard delineates, "The nurturant role is seen by many as the sole inheritance of women (2)." After all, Freud, the father of all great psychoanalysis theories, based his ideas on the statement that "Anatomy is destiny." In spite of the advent of the pill, I am convinced that most people in our society see this statement as the sole controlling factor of women's socially ascribed roles.

Reviewing these current societal expectations in the light of past histories, there appears to have been a time when women seemed to be in charge of things, at least to have more influence in decision-making and control of their own destiny than they do now. The matriarchate or maternal family did exist. Descent and kin were recorded through the women, not through the men (7). Sumner, the grandfather of sociology, explains:

> The woman must be thought of as at her home with her kin, and the husband comes to her. She has great control of the terms on which he is accepted, and she and her kin can drive him away again when they see fit (17).

The exact time when the control of the family and property was taken from woman is not known; however, we have been propagandized for too many thousands of years and some parents are still rearing their children to fit the popular stereotypes just described. Religious traditions have much to teach in understanding this change. In the Bible, "In the beginning God created the heavens and the earth . . . Then God said, 'Let us make man in our image, after our likeness; and let them have dominion over all the earth. . .' and the rib which the Lord God had taken from the man he made into a woman and brought her to the man . . . Then the Lord God said to the woman, 'What is this that you have done?' The woman said, 'The serpent beguilded me and I ate . . .' To the woman He said, 'I will greatly multiply your pain in child-bearing; in pain you shall bring forth children, yet your desire shall be for your husband and he shall rule over you' (3)."

As for the business of the apple, I've always personally wondered why men have ignored its significance. Disobedient or not, it was Eve who took the first bite, and thereby became the person who brought knowledge into the world (3).

St. Paul seconds this notion . . . "For a man ought not to cover his head, since he is the image and glory of God; but woman is the glory of man. For man was not made from woman, but woman from man. Neither was man created for woman, but woman for man (3)."

Just as the Christians taught male superiority, the Jews were no better. One Orthodox Jewish prayer illustrates the lowly status of women:

> Blessed art Thou, oh Lord our God, King of the Universe, that I was not born a gentile.
> Blessed art Thou, oh Lord our God, King of the Universe, that I was not born a slave.
> Blessed art Thou, oh Lord our God, King of the Universe, that I was not born a woman (3).

Thus, Christians borrowed the Hebrew attitude toward woman and gradually took away what few rights the Roman women had gained.

The Koran states that "Men are superior to women on account of the qualities in which God has given them preeminence (3)." The Greeks had a myth, "Pandora's Box," in which it was said that woman was responsible for all the suffering in the world. In addition, two of the greatest Greek thinkers, Plato and Aristotle, had deplorable, horrid things to say about women. Plato was so convinced of all women's lack of intelligence that he wasn't sure they shouldn't be classified as animals. Aristotle continued to add fuel to the fire and suggested that women might have been born by mistake (4).

By the middle ages, Western churchmen were arguing over whether women had souls. The church as well as society had become completely male-dominated, and the Protestant Reformation in the sixteenth century did little, if anything, to help (13). Martin Luther believed that women were secondary to men, and that sexuality was the "Original Sin." John Calvin felt that women's only useful function was to bear children, and he spoke out against political equality for women. John Milton, the great poet, called women a "defect of nature (3)."

For centuries, there were brutal attacks on women who were thought to be in league with the devil. Such women (Joan of Arc, for instance) were burned at the stake for being heretic. It is ironic that men throughout the ages who possessed unusual wisdom were called prophets, seers, philosophers. Women who possessed unusual wisdom or who dared to be different were generally called witches and were often burned and tortured (3).

The French philosopher Rousseau wrote that it was necessary to discipline women so that they would be obedient to men. He said it was

> . . . necessary to accustom them early to such confinement, that it may not afterward cost them too dear; and to the suppression of their desires that they may the more readily submit to the will of others. She ought to learn even to suffer injustices and to bear the insults of a husband without complaint (3).

Even in the new world, the greatest American liberal, Thomas Jefferson, stated in 1807, "The appointment of a woman to office is an innovation for which the public is not prepared—nor am I (3)." Is it any wonder that the opportunities for education of women were so long denied, as stated in *Colonial Days and Dames:*

> One did commend to me a wife, both fair and young
> Who spoke both French, Spanish and Italian Tongue.
> I thanked him kindly, but no thank you sir,
> What love Ye not the learned? Yes, as my life,
> A learned scholar, but not a learned wife (5).

Although women played an important role in producing civilization, their status changed with the coming of male rulers and priests, with city living and military conquests. Records show that with rare exceptions, in the early civilizations of Egypt, Babylonia, Greece, Rome, India and China, men dominated women—treated them as property, and used them mainly for child rearing or for pleasure. For thousands of years, up to the early days of this century, Chinese girls had their feet bound during childhood between the ages of six and seven. Although this crippling device was supposed to make the women beautiful, a Chinese manual gives a more practical purpose.

> Why are feet bound? It is not because they are good-looking with their bowed arch, but rather because men feared that women might easily leave their quarters and therefore their feet were bound tightly in order to prevent this (3).

From that time until the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the position of women varied little. John Mills suggested that women deserved to be accorded a more rightful place in this world, and his long essay on "The Subjection of Women" caused a furor in England. Two years prior to this publication, he used his influence in Parliament to start the suffragette movement (7).

On the heels of Mills' breakthrough came the feminist movement in America. Social historians have long been aware that any time one disadvantaged group is being given attention and help, at the same time women begin to move forward again in their struggle for rights and recognition (7). So it was with the first civil rights movement, with the quest for women's right to education, the vote, and employment.

But imagine the surprise of the women who were finally granted admission to a coeducational college for the first time in 1832. As the feminist Lucy Stone, who attended Oberlin, wrote:

> Oberlin's attitude was that women's calling was to be the mothers of the race . . . . If women became lawyers, ministers, physicians, lecturers, politicians or any sort of public character, the home would suffer from neglect . . . . Washing the men's clothes, caring for their rooms, serving them at the table, listening to their orations, but themselves remaining respectfully silent in public assemblages, the Oberlin "co-eds" were being prepared for intelligent motherhood and a properly subservient wifehood (3).

The industrial revolution, a world war, a depression, and finally the right to vote was achieved. The Nineteenth Amendment was signed on August 26, 1920, and after two years was ratified in 1922 by the Supreme Court (3).

Along with this victory and the right of 26 million women to vote came tragedy. It was almost exactly 50 years again before the sound of feminism was heard. Women stopped fighting for their rights, considering them all won.

> They had not yet come to realize that to win the battle for civil rights is one thing, to win the battle against prejudice and attitudes is quite another. Women were educated and entered employment, but the first women with positions in business and the professions were thought of as freaks and man-haters. Girls growing up in this period had two images, the "either or choice" of wifehood or career. Many still could not look toward that third option—becoming a successful human being on all fronts (7).

It was in Hitler's Germany that modern woman-hating was at its peak. Hitler declared that woman's emancipation was a Jewish plot. The Nazi movement was declared by all rights and indications to be a masculine movement, and women were denied the right to vote or to hold public office (3). They were instructed that their place was in the kitchen, the church, and with the children.

Even into the sixties, dominated by Freudian theories, writers such as Erik Erikson, Bruno Bettelheim, Joseph Reingold, and even Dr. Spock portrayed the role of women as traditional, nurturant, and mothering. As Dr. Spock wrote in 1969:

> Biologically and temperamentally, I believe women were made to be concerned first and foremost with child care, husband care, and home care (3).

Fortunately, many great women have rigorously begun to attack these views and to end such unfounded, traditionally perpetuated myths.

The emergence of many feminist organizations and the possible passage of the Equal Rights Amendment all lead us to the second half of the twentieth century. Once again, when the civil rights of women are won, will women feel the job is done and retreat to more comfortable, readily defined ground? I think not, for the many women I have talked with are concerned that, with the recent economic situation, they may lose what they have gained. Those that have broken into top management or higher levels of administration in higher education are concerned that "the last hired, the first fired" concept will be applied. These women are concerned, but not ready to give up what they have gained, personal options to choose their own life style as they desire.

And what of the future beyond the immediate time, the next decade or Twentieth Anniversary of The Center for Vocational Education? Hopefully, we will be moving away from the situation that still exists,

> . . . that so much of what we do is directed by events and pressures of our people relationships, and where decisions in a woman's life are usually the result of a combination of circumstances rather than a consciously prescribed plan, in spite of the fact throughout history a "woman's place" has been well defined by law and custom, and her actions ordained by the expectations and restrictions of society (7).

However, in this transition there is bound to be much confusion, ambivalence and uncertainty. But what is the appropriate sex role identification?

> He plays at being a man. He really has no idea of what a "man" is supposed to be except what he sees John Wayne doing, or Paul Newman doing in their movies. . . . He wonders what it is exactly that Masculinity is. He likes to read and write poetry. He likes to dream. He even likes to cook and create new dishes in the kitchen. Deep down he knows that's not being Masculine. . . . He remembers his mother calling him her "little man" and his father expecting him to play football. So he went out for the team, played end and broke his collar bone in a game. Secretly he was glad because he didn't have to play any more, and his father wouldn't be angry because he quit for a "legitimate" reason and his father would still boast about "his son the football player." So he grew up miserable and confused wondering what to do with his Masculinity (18).

Many men, in their actions and discussion have again asked that time old question, "What do women really want? Their cake and eat it too?" Legislation will not erase in 50 years what history and culture have prescribed for thousands of years. An excellent example of this happened to me

following a meeting. I was walking out with one of Columbus' leading executives, who upon approaching the door was uncertain as to whether to hold it for me or not. "If I only knew the new rules of the game," he stated, "I'd be happy to oblige." What he was not considering was that just as with men, women have individual preferences, while some may be offended by the offer of courtesy of opening the door, some gratefully accept it, as long as the door-holding doesn't cost them 2-3 thousand dollars per year. This serves to illustrate, on a rather minute point, the confusion in transition that many women and men are experiencing.

A study conducted as recently as November 1973, of "Sexist Attitudes among Male University Students" showed that men's attitudes toward women do not allow for individual differences (8). The socially ascribed roles for women in our society have been so reinforced, so prevalent, so insidious they cannot be completely overcome without massive and concentrated attempts to change attitudes and behaviors involving both the school, the home, and society in a broader frame of reference. Although the following are some recommendations to alleviate this second-class syndrome permeated by socially ascribed roles, it will take, in addition, a deep conscious effort on the part of all peoples to eliminate this residue preventing women from true self-fulfillment.

During this past decade, career education has come into vogue. However, the new efforts did not recognize the seriousness of the vocational miseducation of girls. Rather, it focused upon the idea of work, and its multiple and related forms, without indicating an awareness that sexist prejudices still prevade the entire curriculum and are subtly reflected in the attitudes of the school personnel, as a reflection of the broader society (13). If there is to be an effective change in future vocational roles for women, there must be a concerted effort directed toward parents of preschool children, and elementary teachers, as well as high school guidance counselors. This effort must be pro-active versus re-active in nature.

1. The nature of the school experience must be examined in order to identify the subtle ways in which girls are being restricted in their achievements, specifically sex stereotypes. All teaching materials should be examined for possible sex discrimination and appropriate steps taken to eliminate the discriminatory impact of the material (13). For example, a recent study of 13 popular texts concludes with what by now must seem a refrain: "Women in such texts are passive, incapable of sustained organization or work, satisfied with (their) roles in society, and well supplied with material blessings (14)." No discussion is presented of the struggle by women to enter higher education, of their efforts to organize or join labor unions, of other battles for working rights, or of the many different aspects of the hundred-year-long, multi-issue effort that ended, temporarily, in the Suffrage Act of 1920 (14). A summary of the history and contributions of American women as garnered from the thirteen texts combined includes:

> Women arrived in 1619 (a curious choice if meant to be their first acquaintance with the New World). They held the Senecca Falls Convention on Women's Rights in 1848. During the rest of the 19th century, they participated in reform movements, chiefly temperance, and were exploited in factories. In 1920, they were given the vote. They joined the armed forces for the first time during the Second World War and thereafter have enjoyed the good life in America. Add the names of the women who are invariably mentioned: Harriet Beecher Stowe, Jane Addams, Dorothea Dix, and Frances Perkins, with perhaps Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton . . . and you have the story (10).

Even where textbooks and reading materials do include limited or stereotyped materials, children can be alerted to the narrow interpretation of roles offered, while the school can at the same time make a concerted effort to remove such materials from the schools (13).

In the case of toys and manipulative materials, both sexes can learn to use the materials traditionally designed for boys or for girls. If this cannot be done, the material should be eliminated from the classroom (15).

2. In-service training for teachers is a necessity. This should focus on the pervasiveness of sex stereotyping, and deliberate steps should be taken to sensitize teachers and enable them to avoid repetition of old patterns of expectancies set for both males and females (15). This training, in fact, has serious implications for teacher education and counselor education programs of our institutions of higher education. What better place to begin to break the circular effect of attitudes than in the training programs for new teachers and counselors? Even after the formal training, however, it is not too late to provide continuing education (in-service training) workshops such as the workshop conducted at Miami-Dade Community College titled "Counselor Alert: New Careers for Women." This program included workshops on the following topics:

a. Changing roles of women today

b. New careers for women

c. I, a woman

d. How to develop women's studies in high school and college

e. Career awareness in the elementary school

f. A look at sex stereotyping in books

g. Women and the law

h. Counselor's rap session on effecting change in the schools.

3. Change within the curriculum itself should include two aspects: (1) sections about the changing status of women and materials from women's studies should be incorporated in the social science curriculum, and (2) deliberate techniques should be taught to enable teachers to help girls develop instrumental competency (13).

> More attention should be given to girls' use of thought, logic, and problem-solving techniques, and less reinforcement should be given to rote memorization and verbal facility. Perhaps girls should be deliberately exposed to experiences which try to raise their abilities to tolerate frustration, anxiety, and criticism. Discussion techniques should be explored in classroom groups which could expose girls to verbal conflict, disagreement, and even hostility in a way which would help them learn how to face difficult interpersonal relations without resorting to traditional feminine behaviors of withdrawal, passive submission, or emotional irrelevancies (13).

4. Special efforts should be made in the schools, both elementary and secondary, to draw into the schools women who have achieved in various fields (13). Women in science, politics, medicine, and business, for example, should be invited as leaders of workshops, seminars, mini-courses, or as resident scholars. Boys readily have role models constantly portrayed through the media of high echelon leaders, heroes of statesmanship, sports heroes, professional men, and astronauts. Girls have sex goddesses of movies and TV to identify with (3).

Several studies have shown that femininity and being female are devalued by both sexes.

> Boys readily identify with male figures and activities, but girls are less likely to make the same sort of identification with female stereotypes. In fact, women have so internalized the contempt for being female that they may be the worst offenders in subverting their own growth. The self-hate which is characteristic of groups which feel impotent or powerless finds expression in women's contempt for other women (13).

One perfect example of this is found in a local Franklin County school district where parents receive a form asking them to volunteer to assist the schools. Mothers are given the option of assisting in the library, teacher's aide, cafeteria duty, or nurses aide. Fathers are asked to share their work experience and knowledge of the career world. For three years I have offered to speak on careers for women. To date I have received no recognition by the volunteer coordinating committee of their even receiving the form, let alone being asked to speak to a class.

5. Parent education, focusing on the issue of improving opportunities for the full development of girls' potential should be sponsored by the school as early as the kindergarten, ideally during preschool and nursery school years (13).

My personal experience with this recommendation again verifies the solidarity of attitudes and socially ascribed roles. Two years ago, when my last child was entering kindergarten, as any good mother, I took her to the kindergarten room and then adjourned to the gym for coffee and donuts. (I guess they console the mothers with food, since they have now lost part of their identity by another child leaving home.) The program was to be an orientation to the school, policies, and procedures, and to make the time-honored appointment of the "room mother." Perhaps it was the pressure of things at the office, perhaps my own realization that this was not the real world that I had just left my youngest to, but things didn't appear right. I began to think—dangerous in itself since women are not supposed to do this, but to follow tradition. "Why not have 'room parents'?" I asked. This would more realistically show the children that both parents continue to care and are involved in their development after they enter school. "Oh, but it's never been done that way before," was the answer, and they proceeded to elect a mother to perform the duty. Trying, once again (I never give up or just am stubborn I guess), I asked permission of the presiding principal (a woman just appointed that year) if I might announce a seminar for the community sponsored by Columbus Technical Institute and the Ohio Program in the Humanities titled "Justice for Women: Law and Public Opinion." "Oh, no," stated the principal, "we don't allow commercials for non-educational events." Good grief—what could be more educational and beneficial for these women than to begin, to continue, or to resume their own education (free of charge for the seminar). Ah, not fooled again. When we were asked to introduce ourselves and whose mommy we were, I decided to at least try to work in the "commercial." I gave my name, position at the office, and quickly, very quickly, mentioned the seminar, offered women the brochures, and then, heaven forbid that I not claim my identity, announced that I was Debbie's mommy.

Innovative ideas that attempt to change the thinking or the structure set by the status quo are threatening, to say the least. Another encounter I had was the result of a brainstorm of mine, but with an older group of children. Since none of the mothers in my then 10-year-old daughter's Junior Girl Scout Troop had the time to be the leader, and the Girl Scout Council said that the girls would have no troop without a leader, I was drafted. How and why I had more time than mothers who were not working or who were active in the country club, tennis lessons, etc., I'll never know. However, I was fortunate to thrust upon two other equally fortunate women co-leadership (delegation it's called). We had a marvelous team of leaders, two working mothers, one professional volunteer; one Catholic, one Protestant, and one Jew. Come winter doldrum time, prior to the sacred cookie sale, there was a lull in activities and interest. Too cold for camping, tired of talking about knitting and sewing, I asked the girls in the troop what they wanted to pursue. As many of you know, there is a blank badge that the Girls Scouts can design and create for their own interests. Many were already talking about their futures, so we designed a badge relating to this, only called it "Our Futures" and involved career information, including information on homemaking, interviews with parents and friends in different areas of activities, etc. Did the phone calls ever come in! Mothers were infuriated that their daughters were exposed to such learning at an early age. They still had plenty of time to grow up and they wanted them to remain in the state of childhood as long as possible. Somewhat amazed, although not totally surprised, I checked with Council. We had registered the badge, contents and plans had been approved by National, so everything appeared clear. To add support, a marvelous professional scout came out and spoke on "Careers in Scouting." Then the troop went on to enter this project in the Ohio State Fair and received first prize. Changes? Well, I'm not sure.

6. Finally, high school counselors should be given special professional training for the elimination of discrimination against girls in vocational and educational counseling (13). Research has proven over and over again that the aspirations of high school seniors dramatically indicate a depressed level of aspirations in general among the girls, regardless of class rank, socioeconomic status, or academic ability (15). Add to this another research factor that the sex-bias of counselors is not a sex-linked factor.

At a recent high school orientation designed to assist parents in their understanding of the curriculum to better decide with their children the best courses for selection, I was appalled to hear the high school assistant principal and guidance counselors suggest to parents that with a little encouragement and help, sons with average ability could handle the honors math program, but that daughters of the same ability should consider taking general mathematics.

A graduate student completing her internship in guidance and counseling in our office recalled the first awareness she had of the sex-biased counseling she received in high school. She was studying for a final exam in physics when her high school counselor pulled her aside and cautioned her not to take her studies so seriously. "Paula, why are you so concerned with this exam? Why, next year at this time," the counselor stated, "your only worries will be about burning the bacon."

Although many of you may feel that I have omitted the career development of adult women as affected by socially ascribed roles, I feel that we must concentrate more on the children as the Swedish efforts do, believing that although some in the older generations will support this ideology of equality and shared roles, their behavior will not change. The fact that adult women are experiencing problems in re-entering education and careers or in finding a new identity after children have left home is the result of the second sex syndrome set by culturally ascribed roles.

In summary, our goal then must be to de-mystify the content of sex roles. "Myths die hard and the ones that spring from the stereotyping of women and men still have plenty of bounce to them (7)." What we are struggling to do is to create equality for all persons, yes, persons, a sense of value, dignity, and especially a sense of "self," independent of that person's sex. George Bernard Shaw got right to the heart of the matter in these few words, "Woman is the female of the species and not a different kind of animal (7)."

My hope, and I hope the goals of The Center for Vocational Education for the next decade, are to assist males and females alike to achieve and value individual self-fulfillment, with accomplishments no longer being limited to the male. That both sexes, not just females, will learn and implement in daily work and relationships, the warmth, compassion, and empathy that has been characterized as totally female. If independence and serious commitment are good values, they are equally good values for men and women. If sensitivity and emotional warmth are good values, they are good values not only for women but for men as well (7). And very simply stated, I hope the goals of The Center will help us all to see people as just that—people—for their own unique individuality.

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